The

100 Yen

ONE KOREA

Replace UN Forces in Korea

with Internat. Security Force

Futile UN Korean Debate

Incompetence of UN

Economic Retrogression

and Deficit Budget

Militarists Hang Publisher

and Socialist

No. 7 January 1962

Our Aims and Demands

Liberation from Japanese Imperialism did not bring complete freedom and independence to Korea. Instead, the Big Powers of the world split the Korean territory and nation into two countries. And to this day, the Korean people have been suffering for sixteen long years under the most piteous and distressing conditions. Not only have we constantly wandered on the brinks of death, pressed by poverty and oppression, but we at last had to commit the most shameful mistake in our history: Incited by foreign powers, we Koreans engaged ourselves in the horrible task of killing our own brothers during that tragical Korean War. Yet, in spite of all these sufferings and injustices, the Korean people obediently held trust in the good faiths of the Big Powers, and solely believed that they would carve out the future of Korea for us.

But today we have finally realized our stupidity. We know well now that we must carve out our own destiny with our own hands, that is, the Korean nation must realize unification of Korea by the nation's own powers if it is willing to live. And the people's uprising in April last year which overthrew that most atrocious government of all times, the Syngman Rhee regime, without borrowing any aid from others, has given us the confidence that we can accomplish this aspiration.

We, as members of the Korean nation and campaigners for the unification movement, urged by such consciousness and confidence, propose here that our Independent and Peaceful Unification shall commence by conducting mutual contact and exchange between the North and South Korean people. Whereby, we are sure, brotherly love will be renewed and North and South negotiations invited; thus enabling concrete plans for unification to be worked out. We also believe that the unification must be not only the unification of the Korean territories but also of the divided nation. And in order to reflect the true will of the entire nation on the unification, we call for a Free General Elections to be held throughout North and South Korea; and through these elections, a Unified Central Government shall be established. From these standpoints, we demand:

1) *To immediately open up exchanges of letters, civilian travel, culture and trade between North and South Korea.*
2) *To convene at once an All-Korea Conference represented by delegates from the Governments, political parties and civil organizations of both Koreas, to study and work out the measures for preparing the All-Korea General Elections and establishing the Unified Central Government.*

We are convinced that these demands are fully legitimate, equitable and just since they are based on the standpoints of humanity, fundamental rights and the principle of self-determination. Still we cannot ignore the bearings which the Korean Unification problem has on the international relations. Thus emphasizing the original mission of the United Nations; respecting the authority of the 1954 Geneva Conference in which both the North and South Korean Delegations had participated, and acknowledging adoption of the Agreements reached at the said Conference, we request the nations concerned:

1) *To call as soon as possible an International Conference that shall further the accomplishments of the Political Conference on the Korean Question held at Geneva in 1954, and accelerate the Korean unification by assisting the independent unification movements of the Korean people.*
   Besides those nations which participated in the 1954 Conference, delegations from the four nations constituting the Korean Armistice Observation Commission (Switzerland, Sweden, Poland and Czechoslavakia) and India shall participate in the proposed Conference.
2) *All nations participating in this International Conference shall assume the responsibility to secure the peace in the Korean Peninsula and to guarantee the peaceful development of Unified Korea.*
   In order to secure these guarantees, the United States, the Soviet Union and all other countries shall immediately stop supplying weapons and all other military aids to the present Governments of North and South Korea; shall pledge to assist in the reconstruction of Korea on conditions of non-intervention in her internal affairs and also not to utilize Unified Korea as military bases; and shall recommend immediate membership of Unified Korea to the United Nations.
3) *The same nations shall also support, when requested, the projects of the Unification Projects Agency which will be established by tne All-Korea Confererecce, and also set up an International Supervision Commission to supervise the All-Korea General Elections which will be administered by the above Agency.*
   The International Supervision Commission shall be formed by nations that did not participate in the Korean War, but elected by the participating nations in the proposed International Conference and confirmed by the United Nations.
4) *The foreign armed forces stationed in Korea shall be replaced by International Police Forces ana evacuate Korea as soon as possible.*
   The International Police Forces shall be organized by troops from nations that did not participate in the Korean War; shall have missions to maintain the peace in Korea and also to secure an atmosphere in which free and fair elections can be enforced; and shall withdraw from Korea when requested by the Unified Korea Government.

Unification of Korea is a matter of life and death to the Korean people. No one, no nation should be allowed to bar our way. Therefore, we here appeal to the world to understand and to extend its support to our aims and demands.

ONE KOREA

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF NEWS AND VIEWS ON KOREAN UNIFICATION MOVEMENTS

Jan. 1, 1962 **Vol. 7**

CONTENTS

Aims ..... Coverback
Year for Unific. to March Anew 1
Replace U.N. Forces with International Security Force 5
U.N. Resolutions and Korean Defense Treaties 12
Futile U.N. Korean Debate 17
North and South Korean Memorandums .. 19
UNCURK Report 22
Economic Retrogression ... 23
ROK Publisher and Socialist Hanged 26
Unification Marches on in Japan 28
News of the Month ..... 29 and backcover

Published Monthly by

TONG-IL CHOSEON SHINMOON INC.

(Newspaper for Korean Unification)

Publisher & Editor:
YEE YOUNG KEUN

1-1 Yotsuya, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, Japan

Tel. Tokyo (341)5849, (351)8213

Printed in Japan

1962: Year for Unification to March Anew

Be still sad heart! and cease repining;
Behind the clouds is the sun still shining;

— From Longfellow: *The Rainy Day* —

To Koreans, 1961 was a year mixed with feelings of hope and discouragement. The surge of the peaceful unification movement in the early part of the year brightened the skies of the nation with new and glorious hopes, but on came the cruel storm of militarism in May to tumble the nation down into another period of darkness and suffering. And now at the doorstep of another new year, we find our unification movement locked in ice again. But, no matter how thick the ice, there is always the good old earth preparing new seeds that will break through the ice to bloom beautiful flowers when spring comes along. The "April Revolution" was prepared during the blistering years under the cruel rule of Syngman Rhee. As spring comes after cold winter, revolution follows cruel suppression. And as long as Koreans do not give up the struggle, glory shall shine beyond the hardships.

It is a sad reality that the unification movement was dealt a stinging setback by the military coup. The iron-handed rule of the militarists are being intensified to extremes. The United Nations General Assembly to which Koreans placed vast hopes, proved to be incompetent of solving the long-pending Korean question too. The disheartened may say that the odds have grown too big, but such developments, on the contrary, will set truly unification-minded Koreans on a far realistic and positive path toward the goal. As nature selects the fittest, so will the ordeals and sufferings single out the strong and fitted for the struggle. Koreans have now fully realized the difficulties and complexities, the twist and turns, the ups and downs that accompany such struggles. Optimism has been replaced by far realistic outlook based on a scientific approach to the matter. So, the struggle for peaceful unification will march anew with renewed vigor, intensified force and far scrupulous strategy in the coming year.

Economic Disaster and Political Isolation

The immediate target of the unification struggle is to bring down the ROK military government.

The present military dictatorship, undoubtedly, will be the last big obstacle before the march of peaceful unification. The militarists had made great fuss about rebuilding the economy, relieving the people's hardships and so on, but, in reality, their sole objective was to annihilate the unification forces. The anti-unification policies of the militarists have been pursued thoroughly. Countless wierd laws highlighted by the Ex-Post-Facto-Law to Punish Specific Offenses have been enacted to crack down on unification movements and also to control even the stir of a finger by the people toward unification.

Inspite of the intensification of anti-unification policies, the militarists cannot keep the foundation of their rule from crumbling down. Economically, the Republic is nearing bankruptcy, and politically, the military government is getting isolated both domestically and internationally.

The economic situation has aggravated to such an extent that the military government can no longer conceal the truth. On Dec. 10, it announced that the grand national product of 1961 decreased by 2.3 billion hwan or 0.1% from that of 1960 when businesses were compelled to curtail production. Due to shortages in capital, power and raw materials and hard put by heavy taxes, industries are operating at a low level of 40% capacity. While the stress on defense spending and difficulties in selling aid materials have intensified the government's tax collecting drive, the government is to go on a more rampant spending spree. The fiscal 1962 National Budget Bill has estimated a deficit of 10% and, under the circumstances, the deficit financing is bound to fall deeper into the red in the course of execution.

Moreover, the inflationary policy of the government has rocketed the money supply far above the currency stabilization line of 243 billion hwan set down by the ROK-U.S. Joint Economic Commission for the end of the year and approached the 300 billion line at the end of November already. And inspite of the low level of business, prices are shooting up. At a complete loss to stem the devastating trend, all the militarists can do is to put ceilings on prices. Legislation cannot effectively stem the forces of economy. Vicious inflation may start galloping again any moment. With the militarists at the wheel, the country is bound to end up in bankruptcy.

The political atmosphere surrounding the military government is worsening too. Owing to their undemocratic and anti-unification colors, the militarists are getting isolated both at home and abroad. The military regime was duly denounced in the Political Committee of the 16th U.N. General Assembly as "a government of the generals, by the generals and for the generals." In order to soften such impression, Chairman Park Chung Hee had to pledge again from the rostrum of the National Press Club in Washington that he would transfer the government to civilian control in the summer of 1963 and also that he and his colleagues would not enter in the election races. But, Koreans hardly place trust in such promises, for on the same day, Park declared in front of Korean press correspondents in Washington that legal personalities should be distinguished from natural persons in connection with participation of military men in politics after restoration of civilian rule. This statement was interpreted as a suggestion that the militarists will retain indirect control. And provided the transfer will be done free of military intervention, still the National Assembly will be compelled to approve the militarists-amended Constitution. The point has been repeatedly criticized by the Korean public. And like all other committ-

ments, there lies the possibility of the militarists casting away this promise too, once they find the step too risky for their own interests.

Furthermore, the militarists have definitely made themselves the enemy of the whole nation. These generals who dread the movements for unification the most as unification will ring the knell of their social positions and the esteem they're enjoying, have at last sent Cho Yong-Su, publisher of the defunct progressive Seoul daily, the Minjok Ilbo, and Choi Paik-Keun, agenda chief of the disbanded Socialist Party, to the scaffold and made it clear as ever that the militarists are dead against anyone who talks about peaceful unification. But all Koreans, except those who had and can fatten under the present state of national division at the expenses of the miseries and humiliations of the Korean majority, have argued, cried and fought for peaceful unification in belief that that was the only way in which Koreans can be promised a worthy future as well as getting delivered from the miserable reality. So, by executing these leaders of the unification movement, the militarists have labelled themselves mortal enemies of the entire Korean nation.

In the meantime, those foreign forces which are putting in support for the ROK military government in face of all the outrage and unlawfulness being committed by that government, too, are losing ground in the world community. These powers by conspiring with the ROK militarists have definitely shattered all the illusive trusts Koreans had held in them. Koreans were shown the real objectives of these powers in Korea. Their rosy words of "democracy" and "aids" were but rotten apples.

United Nations: No Ground for Settlement

The United Nations is particularly held responsible for its operations in Korea. And its highest mission is to secure the world peace and guarantee the right to national self-determination. Koreans had sincerely hoped that the General Assembly would make a new approach to the Korean unification issue in view of the emergence of the military regime that overthrew the legitimate government recognized and safeguarded by the U.N. and all the atrocities being committed by that government on democracy and humanity. The responsibilities of the U.N. forces in Korea and the UNCURK (United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea) in bringing about such predicament in Korea should have also been pursued.

But, against such expectations, the Korean debate of the 16th session of the General Assembly resulted in complete futility. The militarists of South Korea rejoiced that their "positive diplomacy" had succeeded. But the results can hardly be attributed to their merits. The futility of the U.N. Korean debate was due to the fact that the issue, as always, was used as a battleground of U.S. versus Soviet cold war politics. And consequently, the maneuver of the Western powers led by the United States to shelve the issue again outnumbered the strategy of the Soviet bloc which tried to get a full debate on the question. Thus the General Assembly could not get into discussions of the substance of the matter once again.

Koreans are now fully convinced that as long as the United Nations remains an organization dominated by a group of nations, it cannot be an adequate ground to seek a permanent settlement of the Korean unification issue and, as long as the U.N. forces are stationed in Korea, Koreans will not be able to execute their right to self-determination. These convictions are no conclusions of specific ideology but are conclusions drawn from actual reality and the painful experiences of living 16 years under the artificial division of the fatherland.

Proposal

Replace the U.N. forces in Korea with an International Security Force.

A permanent settlement of the Korean question will never be possible without the nations concerned, that is, without North Korea and Communist China, participating in the negotiations. In this sense, an International Conference of Nations Concerned is about the only and best ground to seek settlement of the long-pending problem. As a matter of fact, two international conferences were held in the past. They were the U.S.-Soviet Joint Commission held back in 1946-48 and the 1954 Geneva Political Conference on the Korean Question. In vast contrast to the futility of all the U.N. debates on the issue, these parleys, inspite of the propagandas of failure, had, in truth, set down the basic formulas for the resolution of the problem. So, all things considered, an International Conference similar to the 1954 Geneva Conference must be convened at once. When only those nations well informed on the question are assembled, effective results can be expected from the negotiations. And we feel that there could be no reason for any nation to reject this proposal so long as that party is interested in attaining a final and permanent resolution of the issue.

To our great encouragement, the Indonesian delegate to the U.N., Ambassador Sukardjo Wirjopramoto, proposed holding of such international conference in the recent Korean debate of the Political Committee. Although the proposal was not put to vote, it has secured a foothold to pave a way for settlement of the issue. Koreans believe that this move was about the only positive progress made in the recent U.N. Korean debate.

Withdrawal of the present U.N. Forces in Korea is requisite because these forces have constantly worked against the true interests of the Korean nation by neglecting their original tasks and by denying the Korean nation to execute its rights to self-determination. Their presence have also constantly intensified tensions in Korea. Moreover, the nature of the forces are highly doubtful, for unlike other U.N. forces like those sent to the Middle East and Congo, the U.N. Forces in Korea are placed under the command of one nation, that is the United States, instead of the United Nations. This tends to make the forces serve the interests of that nation instead of world peace. Then, legally, these forces in signing the Armistice, have degraded themselves to the status of mere opponents in a war. At any rate, the present U.N. Forces in Korea do not impartially serve the interests and purposes of the world organization nor do they work in line with the spirit of the United Nations. From these reasons, the U.N. Forces in Korea must be evacuated at once.

In view of the confusions that may arise in the event of the withdrawal, and as a tentative measure, an International Security Force should be organized and sent into Korea to maintain the peace and security and also to support the activities of the standing Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission. This Security Force must be organized by troops of nations that did not participate in the Korean War and its main task should be to guarantee the Korean people their rights to self-determination. It is our belief that no other organ can maintain the impartiality and authority needed.

In view of the complexities of international politics entangled so much with brutal cold war objectives and naked national interests, we know that our struggle toward these goals, along with our immediate target to bring down the military regime, will be a long, rough and weary way. But, it is our belief that the current of history is with us and Korea is bound to be unified as long as the struggle is continued.

REPLACE U.N. FORCES IN KOREA WITH INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORCES

Eight years have gone by since the Armistice Agreement was signed on July 27, 1953. During the period the Chinese People's Voluntary Army withdrew from North Korea (1958) but the so-called U.N. Forces are still stationed in South Korea. They are there on grounds that the peace has not as yet been secured in the area and that the conditions set down by the General Assembly for permanent settlement of the Korea problem are not fulfilled. In actual practice, however, the U.N. Forces in Korea have been working against such assignments and are creating grave tensions. So, in order to secure the international peace and to bring about a peaceful resolution of the problem, the present U.N. Forces must be withdrawn from Korea at once and in their place, an International Security Force should be organized and despatched tentatively to Korea.

I Tensions Intensifying

Potential Dangers

1961 was a year in which the world was enwrapped with constant crises. In Asia, civil strife shook the plains of Laos and also the jungles of South Vietnam. In Europe, the recurrence of the "Berlin Crisis" created another war scare. A strange invasion of Cuba that ended in a "fiasco" disturbed the Carribean Sea. The Congolese inner war finally dragged the United Nations into the muddy affair. And on top of everything, the two giants—the United States and Soviet Russia resumed their deadly nuclear tests to rock the earth once more.

Overshadowed by these crises, the situation in Korea seems to have been forgotten inspite of the potential dangers involved. An unlawful coup d'etat has set up a military government in South Korea. The menace caused North Korea to conclude mutual defense pacts with Soviet Russia and Communist China. Thus in the Korean peninsula, tensions have heightened to quite dangerous points. Now, would it be wise for the world to leave the menacing situation alone?

Tranquility, it is true, has reigned in the Korean peninsula since the close of the Korean War on July 27, 1953. But, the lull is a lull only in contrast to hot war. The situation in Korea can be likened to a furious volcano that has only rested its erruptions for the time being. It may burst again at any time with magnified impact that will surely encircle the entire earth this time. The point is eloquently shown by the immense military build-up so many times powerful than those armies at the Armistice time being pushed and also by the rival military alliances that have been concluded by both Korean governments with their respective allies.

The world must not always be occupied with those situations only before its eyes. It should turn toward Korea where inter-

national tension is dangerously smoldering just beneath the surface. Precaution is needed if the world hopes to keep its peace.

Confrontation of World's Biggest Armies

The Korea Peninsula covering an area of approximately 210 thousand square kilometers (90 thousand sq. km. in South Korea and 120 thousand sq. km. in North Korea) with a population of about 34 million (24 million in the south and 10 million in the north) is not a large land. In this small area and at the 4 kilometers-wide Demilitarized Zone that cuts across the narrowest part of the peninsula, North and South Korean armies of 500 thousand and 700 thousand men confront each other. Then, some 10,000 cannons including nuclear weapons are levelled for immediate action and more than 1500 warplanes are ready to take off at a moment's notice.

The breakdown of these armed forces are as follows: The "National Armed Forces" of the Republic of Korea are made up of the land, sea and air forces. The ROK army has 18 divisions of regulars and 10 reserve divisions totalling 590,000 men. The navy has 80 vessels—including 2 destroyers, 4 frigates, 4 convoys, 4 tank-landing ships, 1 high-speed troop landing ship, 1 landing supporter, 13 minesweepers-manned by 20,000 men. There are also about 15 patrol boats belonging to the Coast Guard and the marine forces with 30,000 men. The 20,000-man air forces are equipped with 300 warplanes including a squadron (25 planes) of Lockheed All-Weather F86D Saberjets. In addition to these ROK forces, there are the so-called United Nations Forces in Korea organized by the U.S. 8th Army which is made up of the "Pentamic Divisions", that is, the 7th Infantry Division and the 1st Cavarly Division, and also by 1 brigade of Turkish Army, the 300 men Thailand liason forces and lastly the 12,000-man ROK reserve corps known by the name of "Katusha Corps." These U.N. forces total 40,000 men have this ultra modern "Matador Missile Company" equipped with "Honest Johns" and 28-millimeter nuclear guns at the front-line.

In contrast to these forces, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has lined up the following military build-up: According to highly reliable figures given by the ROK Defense Ministry, North Korea has an army of 450,000 men organized into 18 regular divisions and 5 brigades of national guards. Its navy has 160 warships led by 2 Soviet-made submarines while others being mostly small vessels like torpedo boats. This fleet is manned by 17,000 men. The air force is formed by 990 warplanes including 360 MIG-17 jet-fighters and maintained by 33,000 men. And in 1959, the South Korean Defense Ministry confirmed that the North Koreans had already deployed nuclear cannons along the front-line.

These enormous figures clearly show how dangerous the situation is. The heavy concentration of these gigantic armies equipped with the most modern weapons along the 38th parallel and at less than three miles distance from each other is quite incomparable. No other point on the earth —even Berlin—has so much combat-ready units confronting one another. The confrontation is further threatening when we take into account the mighty forces lined up behind them—namely, those forces of the United States, Japan, the Philippines and Taiwan on the one hand and those of Soviet Russia and Communist China on the other. And it must be remembered that all these powers are busy in the extensive armament race. Furthermore, the defense alliances are so set up that once fire breaks out in Korea, all these forces will automatically be dragged into the conflict!

East vs. West Military Alliances

The Republic of Korea is alligned with the United States through the signing of the ROK-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty. Prior to this pact, South Korea had concluded a mutual military aid agreement with the United States as early as January

1950, the year in which the Korean War broke out, and began recieving U.S. military aid. The ROK army entrusted (July 15, 1950) its command to the United States as soon as the Korean War broke out, but at the termination of the hostilities, South Korea refused to accept the Armistice Agreement signed by both belligerent parties on July 27, 1953 and instead went on to conclude a mutual defense pact with the United States (October 1, 1953).

The ROK-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty, composed of a preamble and 6 articles, declares: "their common determination to defend themselves against external armed attack" (preamble), "Each party recognizes that an armed attack on either of the parties...would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger" (Article 3) and "the Republic of Korea has granted the right to dispose United States land, air and sea forces in and about the territory of the Republic of Korea" (Article 4). (Text of the Treaty at end of this article) Thanks to this treaty, the United States is utilizing the entire territory of South Korea as bases for its land, sea and air forces. The most signficant point of this treaty is the Article 3 that stipulates: "Each party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific on either of the parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger."

Against this South Korean military posture, North Korea belatedly concluded Treaties of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with Soviet Russia (July 6, 1961) and Communist China (July 11, 1961), following the emergence of the bellicose military government in South Korea last May 16th. Since these treaties were aimed at countering the military alliance of South Korea, the contracting parties, naturally expressed their determination "to render assistance and support to each other in case of an armed attack" (preamble of North Korean Soviet Mutual Assistance Treaty) and "in case if one of the contracting parties becomes the object of an armed attack...the other contracting party will immediately render it military and other assistance with all means at its disposal." (Art. 1. North Korean-Soviet Treaty and Art. 2 North Korean-Chinese Treaty)

So, we find the Korean peninsula, far different from the days preceding the Korean War, now directly connected to rival East and Western alliances of the big powers. Moreover, the preamble of the ROK-U.S. defense pact defines that both parties will defend themselves against external armed attack so that no potential aggressor could do so under the illusion that either of them stands alone in the Pacific area. This suggests that provocation of war could be possible through the illusion or arbritrariness of a few rulers in the name of guarding against potential aggression.

Bellicose ROK Militarists

The emergence of the South Korean military regime is the biggest factor intensifying tensions in Korea. The nature of the regime itself poses a menace and the bellicose attitude of the militarists is endangering the peace in Korea. The only commitment the militarists have carried out with real earnestness was the promise to strengthen the anti-Communist posture of South Korea. Such tendencies caused North Korea to abandon its heretofore conciliatory policies and conclude mutual defence pacts with its Communist neighbors. The two governments of Korea have been engaging in bitter verbal warfares. Very frequently, the South Korea junta made irritating statements. Park Chung Hee, for instance, is always talking about strengthening the ROK armed forces in order to build up stronger bastions and security against Communism in Northeastern Asia. And during his tour to the U.S., he bargained hard to get additional military aid from the United States.

These statements and activities indicate the clear-cut bellicose character of Park Chung Hee and his colleagues. Then, the

greatest danger of all lies in the dark reality that these military men who have no talents or competence asides fighting wars and who have been so unrelentingly annihilating their oppositions, are capable of doing anything. As pointed out by all experts on Korea, the economic disaster in South Korea has definitely placed the militarists in a deadly fix. The exhaustion of the people is said to be reaching the limits. So when another social unrest should take hold of the nation, the militarists may resort to the old tactic: Turn the nation's eyes outside. Many Koreans fear that the militarists will dare any suicide once their positions become endangered and, therefore, might venture to ignite powder kegs at the international tension points.

II Defects of U.N. Forces in Korea and Merits of U.N. Forces to other Areas

Violations of Armistice Agreement

Now, are there sufficient safety valves and systems to control and tranquilize these dangerous tensions in Korea? Theoretically, there is the Armistice Agreement which was signed on July 27, 1953 at Panmunjom by U.S. Gen. Mark W. Clark, Commander-In-Chief of the United Nations Forces and Premier Kim Il Sung, Marshal and Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army. This Agreement formally called the "Agreement Concerning Armistice Agreement concluded by the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command; the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers" guaranteed the "cessation of all armed actions in Korea" (preamble and Article 2, paragraph 12) and 22 hours after signatory, suspended all reinforcements of military personnel into Korea across its borders (Article 12, paragraph 13, sub-par. C) and also all reinforcements of operational warplanes, armored vehicles, weapons and munitions to enter Korea across its borders (paragraph 13, sub-par. D). Furthermore, a "Demarcation Line and Demilitarized Zone" was established (Article 1, paragraph 1) and a "Military Armistice Commission" was set up to supervise the implementation of the Agreement and to consult and deal with any violation of the Agreement (Article 2, Paragraph 24).

Nearly all the terms of this Armistice Agreement, except the Demilitarized Zone, are ignored now. Firstly, the suspension of bringing in armed forces across the border is no longer observed. At the Military Armistice Conference of June 5, 1955, the United Nations Command denounced the North Koreans that they had constantly violated the Armistice Agreement by bringing in war materials during the period of two years since the armistice and also protested in May 1956 that North Koreans who did not have a single fighterplane at the time of Armistice had build up an air force of 4 to 5 hundred planes. Then on July 25, 1957, the U.N. Commander issued a statement charging the North Koreans of not observing the suspension on bringing in war materials as stipulated in Article 12, paragraph 13 sub-paragraph D of the Armistice Agreement. In view of such developments, the United States forces in Korea were reorganized into highly modernized "Pentamic Divisions" and, eventually, Matador missiles and Honest Johns were shipped into South Korea.

Inactivation of Armistice Commissions

Under such circumstances, neither the Military Armistice Commission nor the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission can execute their missions. The Military Armistice Commission constituted by five representatives from each side (3 of gen-

eral rank and 2 of colonel or higher rank) and with permanent headquarters at Panmunjom, has held 147 sessions to this day but all the Commission has done was to exchange denouncements and throw blames at each other. The Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission began operation with a team of four top-level military officers (A Swedish and a Swiss officer named by the U.N. side and a Polish and a Czechoslavakian named by the North Koreans) and 20 supporting teams of 2 to 4 officers of colonel rank (observer sub-teams) with headquarters at Panmunjom. The Commission observed the Armistice by posting its sub-teams at ten points (Inchon, Taegu, Pusan, Kangnyong, and Gunsan in South Korea and Shinichoo, Chungjin, Whungnam, Manpo and Shinanchoo in North Korea) on the supply routes of military personnel and war materials. But, on May 21, 1956, the U.N. Command, yielding to the persistent demands of Syngman Rhee, unilaterally proclaimed suspension of the Commission's operations in South Korea and thus the Commission was shut up inside the Demilitarized Zone.

So, there is nothing in the Korean peninsula now to stop the military build-ups and conditions are quite threatening so much so that the slightest provocation might lead to an all-out war. The most curious thing of all is that this critical situation has been created while the U.N. Forces—forces which should above everything safeguard peace—are stationed there!

Distortion of U.N. Resolutions

The foreign armed forces stationed in South Korea today under the name of U.N. Forces in Korea are composed of the U.S. 8th Army, made up of 2 Pentamic divisions, 1 Turkish brigade and 300-man Thailand forces. The U.N. Command, with headquarters in Seoul, has under its command supply corps, missile and nuclear forces and its rear is supported by the U.S. 5th Air Force with bases in Japan and the U.S. Seventh Fleet. While most of the 16 partner nations (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, the Philippines, New Zealand, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdon and the United States) withdrew their forces from Korea following the signing of the Armistice, those above have remained. As grounds for their continued stationing in Korea, these forces have invoked the United Nations General Assembly resolution 376 (V), the so-called resolution approving the crossing of the 38th parallel, adopted on Oct. 7, 1950 and claimed that the Armistice Agreement was but a tentative measure until attainment of a permanent peaceful settlement and asserted that the U.N. objective to realize complete recovery of peace and security in Korea, reconfirmed by the U.N. General Assembly every year since the outbreak of the Korean War, has not as yet been attained.

However, this U.N. General Assembly resolution 376 (V) only recommended that "(a) all appropriate steps be taken to ensure conditions of stability throughout Korea; (b) all constituent acts be taken, including the holding of elections, under the auspices of the United Nations, for the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government in the sovereign state of Korea; and (d) United Nations forces should not remain in any part of Korea otherwise than so far as necessary for achieving the objectives specified in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) above" and as the advancing of the U.N. forces across the 38th parallel into North Korea brought about heated arguments, this resolution, in no ways, did recognize the continued stationing of foreign armed forces under the name of U.N. Forces in Korea. And as regards the argument that the forces are stationed in Korea for the sake of safeguarding the "international peace and security in Korea," the stationing, in truth, is creating opposite effects, that is, tensions.

Incompetence as U.N. Forces

The incompetence of the remaining U.N.

Forces in Korea as guardians of peace and security in Korea can be easily understood by the facts that the military build-up in both Koreas have increased and that tensions have been intensified but such is an old story. General Ridgeway, Commander-in-Chief of the U.N. Forces, said on January 15, 1951, that the objective of the U.N. forces was to carry out a "butchering operation." This comment was enough to show that the U.N. forces were not crusaders to exemplify the authority and mission of the United Nations as a "universal mediator of international disputes" or "noble guardians of world peace" from the very beginning. And it is an unconcealable fact that the U.N. forces degraded into partisan forces in the course of constantly backing up the bellicose anti-unification policies of the ROK governments.

The U.N. Forces in Korea, of course, should have entrusted the task of safeguarding peace in Korea to the Military Armistice Commission and the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission and evacuated Korea immediately after the signing of the Armistice. But the U.S. armed forces, assuming the name of U.N. forces, not only remained in Korea under the pretext that the Armistice Agreement was but a tentative arrangement until attainment of a permanent settlement, but, on May 31, 1956, the U.S. forces suspended the activities of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in the area of the Republic of Korea. On top of this, the U.S. forces supported Syngman Rhee who clamoured for "marching north," in his work to strengthen his dictatorship and also the ROK armed forces. And following the emergence of the present military government, the U.S. forces in Korea have been bolstering that government which not only goes against the purposes and objectives of the U.N. but have clearly defied the authority of the U.N. by overthrowing the legitimate government elected through free elections and recognized by the U.N. The U.S. forces can, in no ways, be said "guardian of peace" working in line with the spirit of the United Nations.

Doubtfulness of U.N. Forces in Korea

During the 16 years since its birth, the United Nations have established and despatched three U.N. forces into areas of dispute. Besides detachment of the U.N. Forces to Korea in July 1950, the U.N. Emergency Force was sent to the Middle East during the Suez Incident in November 1956 and the present U.N. Forces in Congo were sent in July 1960. The U.N. force sent to the Middle East attained remarkable results and those now in Congo are executing their tasks effectively. The notable point common to these two forces is that the authority of the United Nations has not only been preserved but it has also been respected by the adversaries. In the case of the U.N. Forces in Korea, the adversaries do not respect the authority nor the U.N. Forces themselves have abided by their original missions and responsibilities. Why? This is because the U.N. Forces in Korea differ vastly from those sent to the Middle East and Congo and possess great defects in their formation and character.

In regards to formation, both the U.N. Emergency Force in the Middle East and the U.N. Forces in Congo were organized and despatched through proper procedures, that is, through formal resolutions adopted by the Special Emergency Session of the General Assembly and the Security Council, respectively. In the case of the U.N. Forces in Korea, although they were sent in accords with a series of resolutions adopted by the Security Council (June 25 and 27 and July 7, 1950), the Communist countries denounced these resolutions as invalid since they were adopted during the absence of the Soviet delegation in the Council.

Moreover, the Security Council resolution of June 25 only called for "the immediate cessation of hostilities", and called upon "the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the 38th parallel." It was not until June

27 that the Security Council recommended through a resolution that "members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea" and the decision to send U.N. forces to Korea was taken later on July 7, 1950. Nevertheless, the United States had already intervened in Korea prior to the June 27 resolution. So, all these Security Council resolutions were criticized as ex post facto measures to justify the coercive armed intervention by the United States.

Such criticisms are well-founded when the U.N. Forces in Korea are compared to those sent to the Middle East and Congo. The July 7, 1950 Security Council resolution recommended all Members providing military forces to Korea "make such forces available to a unified command under the United States (Paragraph 3) and requested" the United States to designate the commander of such forces" (Par. 4), but the U.S. was only asked" to provide the Security Council with reports as appropriate in the course of action "(Par. 6). It may be argued that such couldn't be helped because the Security Council was limited by Article 39 of the U.N. Charter (Article 39: *The Security Council shall determine the existence of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.*) to make only recommendations. But in the light of the experiences of the U.N. Emergency Force in the Middle East and the U.N. Forces in Congo, the legality of the U.N. Forces in Korea is very doubtful.

Merits of U.N. Forces to Other Areas

The U.N. Emergency Force in the Middle East was placed under the command of the Consultant Committee presided by the Secretary-General as its chairman and constituted by Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Colombia, India, Norway and Pakistan as members. And the commander of the force was nominated by the General Assembly. There were 24 nations that offered troops to the Emergency Force but for the sake of maintaining a balanced composition, forces of 10 nations having little interest in the Middle East were selected out of the 24 nations. The U.N. Forces in Congo are placed under the control of the Security Council and the command is entrusted to the Security-General. The forces shall not be subjected to the direction of any single power including the Government of Congo.

Since these forces are so properly organized and so adequately commanded, the U.N. Emergency Force in the Middle East and the U.N. Forces in Congo are able to execute their tasks to mediate and seek conciliation as subsidiary organs of the General Assembly (Article 22) and also to fulfill their roles as "International Security Forces."

The U.N. Forces in Korea, on the contrary, is entrusted to the arbritrariness of one power and, thus, these forces pursue only the interests of the United States whereby tensions are always being intensified instead of getting eased.

III Replace U.N. Forces in Korea with International Security Force

As argued above, although Korea maintains tranquility at her surface, she is an area charged with the most dangerous explosives. So, it is extremely urgent that the world should work to ease the tensions therein and secure the international peace and security in Korea.

For this, the United Nations Forces in Korea which degraded themselves to the status of opponents in a war and are working only in the direction to intensify tensions there, must, firstly, be withdrawn from Korea at once. Some may fear that hostilities might occur in the operture of

the withdrawal since armed forces of both Koreas totalling more than a million will still remain confronting each other. In order to prevent such mishap, we request, as a tentative measure, an International Security Force, possessing the task of safeguarding peace and security in the area, be organized and sent to Korea. This International Security Force, of course, must be made up of troops from neutral nations that did not participate in the Korean War. And in the process of its formation, balance should be maintained by applying the experiences attained on the occasion of establishing the U.N. Emergency Force in the Middle East.

Secondly, the activities of the Netutral Nations Supervisory Commission must be reactivated and also strengthened through the support of the International Security Force in order to bring the armed forces of both Koreas down to the level of Armistice-time and thus secure a complete armistice in the Korean peninsula.

Thirdly, the personnel of North and South Korean armed forces must be reduced below the level of 50,000 men each.

Fourthly, the rampancy of those bellicose elements in both Koreas who are apt to provoke war in the peninsula, must be eliminated.

In this way alone can this most dangerous volcano charged with high explosives be tranquilized and thus international peace and security in Korea secured. The maintenance of the peace in Korea and the resolution of the Korean unification issue are the first steps to ease the tensions that menace the world of today.

Text of Defense Treaties and U.N. Resolutions

As reference to the foregoing article, we have listed the following mutual defense pacts involving North and South Korea and also Resolutions adopted by the U.N. Security Council in relation to the Korean War:

Treaties

Mutual Defense Treaty Between the United States and the Republic of Korea, Oct. 1, 1953

The Parties to this Treaty,

Reaffirming their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments, and desiring to strengthen the fabric of peace in the Pacific area,

Desiring to declare publicly and formally their common determination to defend themselves against external armed attack so that no potential aggressor could do so under the illusion that either of them stands alone in the Pacific are,

Desiring further to strengthen their efforts for collective defense for the preservation of peace and security pending the development of a more comprehensive and effective system of regional security in the Pacific area,

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1. The Parties undertake to settle international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations, or obligations assumed by any Party toward the United Nations.

Article 2. The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of either of them, the political independence or security of either parties is threatened by external armed attack. Seperately and jointly, by self help and mutual aid, the Parties will maintain to develop appropriate means to deter armed at-

tack and will take suitable measures in consultation and agreement to this treaty and to further its purposes.

Article 3. Each Party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific are on either of the Parties in territories now under their respective administrative control, or hereafter recognized by one of the Parties as lawfully brought under the administrative control of the other, would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

Article 4. The Republic of Korea grants, and the United States of America accepts, the right to dispose United States land, air and sea forces in and about the territory of the Republic of Korea as determined by mutual agreement.

Article 5. This treaty shall be ratified by United States of America and the Republic of Korea in accordance with their respective constitutional processes and will come into force when instruments of ratification thereof have been exchanged by them at Washington.

Article 6. This treaty shall remain in force indefinitely. Either Party may terminate it one year after notice has been given to the other Party.

Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between North Korea and USSR, July 6, 1961

The Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, striving to develop and strengthen the friendly relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Soviet Union, the relations based on the principle of socialist internationalism,

Wishing to contribute the maintenance and consolidation of peace and security in the Far East and throughout the whole world in accordance with the aims and principles of the United Nations,

Fully determined to render assistance and support to each other in case of an armed attack by some state or a coalition of states on one of the contracting parties,

Being certain that the strengthening of friendship, good neighborliness and cooperation between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Soviet Union meets the vital interests of the peoples of both states and will in the best way conduce to their further economic and cultural development,

Have resolved with this end in view to conclude this treaty and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries: The Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; Kim Il Sung, Premier of the DPRK Cabinet, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; Khrushchev Nikita Sergeyevich, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Both plenipotentiaries after exchanging their credentials, which were found to be in due form and full order, agreed on the following:

Article 1: The contracting parties declare that they will continue in the future as well to take part in all international actions aimed at ensuring peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world and will make their contribution to the cause of accomplishment of these lofty tasks. In case if one of the contracting parties becomes the object of an armed attack by some state or a coalition of states and will thus find itself in the state of war, then the other contracting party will immediately render it military and other assistance with all means at its disposal.

Article 2: Each of the contracting parties undertake to conclude no alliance and participate in no coalitions or actions and measures directed against the other contracting party.

Article 3: The contracting parties will consult each other on all important international issues affecting the interests of both states, being guided by the striving to contribute to the consolidation of peace and general security.

Article 4: Both contracting parties undertake, in the spirit of friendship and cooperation in accordance with the principles of equality and also mutual respect for state sovereignty, territorial integrity and no interference in the internal affairs of each other, to develop and strengthen the economic and cultural contacts between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to render each other all possible assistance and carry out necessary cooperation in the economic and cultural fields.

Article 5: Both contracting parties maintain that the unification of Korea must be

carried out on a peaceful and democratic basis and that such settlement is in line both with the national interest of the Korean people and the cause of maintaining peace in the Far East.

Article 6: The treaty shall come into force on the day of the exchange of the instruments of ratification which will take place in Pyongyang. The treaty will remain in force for 10 years. If one of the contracting parties does not declare one year before the expiration of this term its desire to denounce the treaty, it will continue remaining in force for the next five years and will be prolonged in accordance with this role.

North Korean-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, July 11, 1961

The Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, determined,

in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism,

and on the basis of mutual respect for state sovereignty and teritorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-intervention in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and mutual assistance and support,

to make every effort to futher strengthen and develop the fraternal relations of friendship, cooperation and mutal assistance between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China, to jointly guard the security of the two peoples, and to safeguard and consolidate the peace of Asia and the world,

and deeply convinced that the development and strengthening of the relations of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the two countries accord not only with the fundamental interests of the two peoples but also with the interests of the peoples all over the world,

have decided for this purpose to conclude the present treaty and appointed as respective plenipotentiaries:

The Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea: Kim Il Sung, Premier of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Chairman of the People's Republic of China: Chou En-Lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, who, having examined each other's full powers and found them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

Article 1: The contracting parties will continue to make every effort to safeguard the peace of Asia and the world and the security of all peoples.

Article 2: The contracting parties undertake jointly to adopt all measures to prevent aggression against either of the contracting parties by any state. In the event of one of the contracting parties being subjected to the armed attack by any state or several states jointly and thus being involved in a state of war, the other contracting party shall imme diately render military and other assistance by all means at its disposal.

Article 3: Neither contracting party shall conclude any alliance directed against the other contracting party or take part in any bloc or in any action or measure directed against the other contracting party.

Article 4: The contracting parties will consult each other on all important international questions of common interest to the two countries.

Article 5: The contraction parties, on the principless of mutual respect for sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutal benefit and in the spirit of friendly cooperation, will continue to render each other every possible economic and technical aid in the cause of socialist construction of the two countries and will continue to consolidate and develop economic, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries.

Article 6: The contracting parties hold that the unification of Korea must be realized along peaceful and democratic lines and that such solution accords exactly with the national interests of the Korean people and the aim of preserving peace in the Far East.

Article 7: The present treaty is subject to ratification and shall come into force on the day of exchange of instruments of ratification, which will take place in Pyongyang. The present treaty will remain in force until the contracting parties agree on its amendment or termination. Done in duplicate in Peking on the 11th day of July, 1961, in the Korean and Chinese languages, both texts being equally authentic.

U.N. Security Council Resolutions

Resolution of the U.N. Security Council Calling for a Cease-Fire and Withdrawal of Troops to the 38th Parallel, June 25, 1950 (Resolution S/1501)

The Security Council,

Recalling the finding of the General Assembly in its resolution of 21 October 1949 that the Government of the Republic of Korea is a lawfully established government "having effective control and juridcition over that part of Korea where the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea was able to observe and consult and in which the great majority of the people of Korea reside; and that this Government is based on elections which were a valid expression of the electorate of that part of Korea and which were observed by the Temporary Commission; and that this is the only such government in Korea";

Mindful of the concern expressed by the General Assembly in its resolutions of 12 December 1948 and 21 October 1949 of the consequences which might follow unless Member States refrained from acts derogatory to the results sought to be achieved by the United Nations in bringing about the complete independence and unity of Korea; and the concern expressed that the situation described by the United Nations Commission on Korea in its report menaces the safety and well being of the Republic of Korea and of the people of Korea and might lead to open military conflict there;

Noting with grave concern the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea,

Determines that this action constitutes a breach of the peace,

I. Calls for the immediate cessation of hostilities; and calls upon the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the 38th parallel;

II. Requests the United Nations Commission on Korea

(a) To communicate its fully considered recommendations on the situation with the least possible delay,

(b) To observe the withdrawal of the North Korean forces to the 38th parallel, and

(c) To keep the Security Council informed on the execution of this resolution;

III. Calls upon all Members to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Korean authorities.

Resolution of the U.N. Security Council Calling for Assistance to the Republic of Korea to Repel the Attack, June 27, 1950 (Resolution S/1511)

The Security Council,

Having determined that the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace,

Having called for an immediate cessation of hostilities, and

Having called upon the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the 38th parallel, and

Having noted from the report of the United Nations Commission on Korea that the authorities in North Korea have neither ceased hostilities nor withdrawn their armed forces to the 38th parallel and that urgent military measures are required to restore international peace and security, and

Having noted the appeal from the Republic of Korea to the United Nations for immediate and effective steps to secure peace and security,

Recommends that the Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area.

Resolution of the U.N. Security Council Regarding Contributions to the Unified Command for U.N. Forces in Korea, July 7, 1950 (Resolution S/1588)

The Security Council,

Having determined that the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace,

Having recommended that Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area,

1. Welcomes the prompt and pigorous support which governments and peoples of the United Nations have given to its resolutions of 25 and 27 June 1949 to assist the Republic of Korea in defending itself against armed attack and this to restore international peace and security in the area;

2. Notes that Members of the United Nations have transmitted to the United Nations offers of assistance for the Republic of Korea;

3. Recommends that all Members providing military forces and other assistance available to a unified command under the United States;

4. Requests the United States to designate the commander of such forces;

5. Authorizes the unified command at its discretion to use the United Nations flag in the course of operation against North Korean forces concurrently with the flags of the various nations participating;

6. Requests the United States to provide the Security Council with reports as appropriate on the course of action taken under the unified command.

Resolution of the U.N. Security Council Regarding Contributions to the Unified Command for Civilian Relief, July 31, 1950 (Resolution S/1652)

The Security Council,

Recognizing the hardship and privations to which the people of Korea are being subjected as a result of the continued prosecution by the North Korean forces of their unlawful attack, and

Appreciating the spontaneous offers of assistance to the Korean people which have been made by governments, specialized agencies, and non-governmental organizations,

Requests the Unified Command to exercise responsibility for determining the requirements for the relief and support of the civilian population of Korea, and for establishing in the field the procedures for providing relief and support;

Requests the Secretary-General to transmit all offers of assistance for relief and support to the Unified Command;

Request the Unified Command to provide the Security Council with reports, as appropriate on its relief activities;

Requests the Secretary-General, the Economic and Social Council in accordance with Article 65 of the Charter, other appropriate United Nations principal and subsidiary organs, the specialized agencies in accordance with the terms of their respective agreements with the United Nations, and appropriate non-governmental organizations, to provide such assistance the Unified Command may request for the relief and support of the civilian population of Korea, and as appropriate in connexion with the responsibilities being carried out by the Unified Command on behalf of the Security Council.

Season Greetings:

We wish our Readers a Happy and Prosperous New Year.

— Editor

U.N. DEBATE ON KOREA

Futile Again

The United Nations debate on the Korean Unification Issue again ended in thorough fruitlessness. The Question, as always, was exploited as a propaganda battleground of East-West rivalry. Wrangling over the procedural matter of inviting Korean delegations occupied nearly the entire span of the week-long debate and the General Assembly's Political Committee could hardly get into the discussion on the substance of the Korean Question. It is clearer than ever now that the U.N., as a matter of fact, is yet far incompetent in resolving the Issue. As proposed by the Indonesian delegation, a new international conference similar to that of 1954 Geneva Political Conference will be about the only ground where we can expect getting a way cut through the entangled perennial stalemate.

Extraordinary Preparations. The emergence of the military government in South Korea doubtedlessly indebted the United Nations to tackle the Korean Question from a fresh angle and with real seriousness and urgency; for the South Korean outlaw regime had seized the legitimate government in thorough defiance of all the United Nations authority in South Korea. Anticipating a showdown at the General Assembly, both North and South Korean governments made preparations with extraordinary earnestness and hustle. On December 4th, the South Korean observer delegation to the United Nations distributed among the 105 Member Nations a memorandum clarifying its stand on the Korean unification issue and said that it would boycott any decision to invite North Korea to the U.N. On December 6th, the North Korean Foreign Ministry also circulated a statement demanding participation in the U.N. debate and warned that it would ignore any resolution adopted by the General Assembly in its absence.

Five Resolutions. Although overshadowed by the heated debate on the question of Chinese representation, the Korean debate of the General Assembly was finally begun on December 12 by the Political Committee loaded with five resolutions. United States proposed an invitation, without voting rights, for the Republic of (South) Korea to participate in the debate. Mongolia countered with a proposal requesting participation of the People's Republic of (North) Korea as well and demanding the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops—especially those of the United States—from South Korea. Soviet Russia proposed that the United Nations Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) be abolished. At the final stage of lining up for the debate, 15 Korean War partner nations submitted a draft resolution urging that continuing efforts be made to achieve unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government and also to continue the work of the UNCURK. This draft was submitted to counter the Soviet arguments that Chinese Communist troops have been withdrawn from North Korea by noting that most of the U.N. forces have already withdrawn from South Korea. In view of the bitter East-West rivalry, the Indonesian delegate sought for a breakthrough in the deadlock by proposing that it would be better to call a special conference at Geneva or some other

neutral site, with both North and South Korea participating along with other countries to work for a resolution of the problem.

Compromise Adopted. In the customary manner, the United States and the Communist nations clashed head-on on the matter of which Korea to invite. The U.S. opposed any action to invite North Korea by asserting that the "North Korean Communist regime has not modified its attitude toward the United Nations, even when it sought to participate in a debate under the very organization whose competence it denies and rejects." To this, the Soviet delegate retorted that the United States was "backtracking" on the conditional invitation extended to North Korea last spring. In the last days of the resumed session of the General Assembly last April, the Political Committee approved a surprise compromise motion submitted by the United States to invite North Korea also on condition that it recognized the United Nations authority and competence in Korea. North Korea accepted the invitation but turned down the condition. Resorting to this formula, Greece and Thailand put forth an amendment to the Outer Mongolian draft resolution and called for the invitation of North Korean representatives on condition that Pyongyang recognized the authority and competence of the United Nations in dealing with the Korean question. Voting on the invitations came after three meetings at which only procedural questions were discussed and the Political Committee adopted the Greece-Thailand amendment by a vote of 63 to 18 with 19 abstentions on December 13th.

North Korean Rejection. As expected, the North Korean government formally rejected the invitation with "strings attached" on Dec. 19. The North Korean Foreign Ministry stated that the unjust resolution on the conditional participation in the Korean debate was again forced through by despicable maneuver of the United States." It rapped that such was "an unjustified and shameful act entirely contrary to the principles of the U.N." and denounced that "the fact the United States has arbitrarily had a representative of the unlawful South Korean military-fascist regime take part in the discussion of the Korean question at the current U.N. session constitutes a still more flagrant defilement of the United Nations principles." As long as the other party concerned in the issue is kept from participating ,no solution of the Korean unification problem is possible. The U.N. debate will always remain futile unless North Korea takes part.

U.N. Still Serving Specific Nations. Koreans who are suffering under an atrocious military regime duly denounced in the debate as "a government of the generals, by the generals, for the generals," looked forward to the General Assembly to make a fresh approach to the question and probe into the grave matter in line with the principles and objectives of the United Nations. But, against such expectations, the question was exploited only as a battleground for cold war propaganda objectives. Soviet Union demanded full debate on the issue in the resumed session of the General Assembly to open on next January 15. But the Western nations whose sole aim was to shelve the question in order to evade debate on substantial matters of the issue, pushed through its maneuvering in getting the Political Committee to wind up the discussions on the question. So, in the absence of positive moves by the Afro-Asian nations, the United States and its allies got their 15 nation resolution reaffirming the U.N. objectives in Korea to bring about a unified, independent and democratic Korea and also to continue the work of the UNCURK approved and the Political Committee adjourned for the year. The only constructive proposal submitted before the Committee by the Indonesian delegation calling for a new international conference did not come up again for discussion. Thus, it must be said that virtually no progress was gained in the debate and the Western nations got away with their unjustful

maneuver. As shown also in the case of Chinese representation, the United Nations still remained an organization serving the interests and purposes of specific nations in regards to Korea.

International Conference Needed. In the light of such futility in the U.N. Korean debate, Koreans must turn toward more positive grounds to obtain real solution of the long-pending unification problem. Though it may be too early to conclude that the United Nations is totally incompetent in solving the issue, the complex nature of the Korean question so conditioned by bitter East-West rivalry will always keep the world organization back from making a postive approach to the question. In this sense, we are sure that a new international conference similar to that of the 1954 Geneva Political Conference is one formula that will pave the way for a swift resolution of the problem.

——Korean Stands on Unifi. Issue——

The following are condensations of the Memorandums distributed by both Korean governments among the 105 member nations of the United Nations:

South Korean Memorandum, Dec. 2, 1961.

Chapter I. The Geneva Political Conference of 1954 failed when the Communist side refused to consider U.N. delegates' view on (a) the U.N.'s primary role in a Korean settlement, (b) free elections on a proportionate represention basis for all Korea, and (c) maintaining U.N. forces in Korea until a unified, independent and democratic Korea came into being.

The U.N. members at Geneva resolved that the U.N. was (a) fully empowered to take collective action to repel aggression and to extend its good offices toward a peaceful settlement in Korea and (b) should supervise free elections in Korea. The United Nations General Assembly reaffirmed these principles in its resolutions.

Chapter II. The United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea having observed free elections leading to the establishment of the Republic of Korea, the U.N. General Assembly in December 1948 ruled that the ROK Government was the "only lawful government in Korea." In February 1949, the Security Council's Committee on the Admission of New Members approved a ROK application for U.N. membership, while the Security Council refused even to refer North Korea's application to the Committee. Successive Soviet vetoes have blocked ROK membership.

The ROK has consistently cooperated with the U.N. accepting all U.N. resolutions on Korea and the U.N.'s competence and authority on Korean unification. North Korea persistently has flouted the U.N. Besides enjoying U N. recognition, the ROK is a member of many U.N. Specialized Agencies and other international governmental and non-governmental organizations and a signatory of various international conventios. North Korea's international activity is virtually nil.

Periodically, the Communist side makes such proposals as (a) withdrawal of U.N. forces from Korea, (b) holding of elections without U.N. supervision and (c) cultural, economic and other North-South exchanges. The U.N. forces are in Korea by U.N. mandate. The U.N. consistently has stipulated U.N. supervision of Korean elections. Other Communist proposals seek to communize the ROK by means contrary to U.N. objectives in Korea.

Chapter III. In March 1961, the ROK reported the U.N. General Assembly on constructive domestic reforms in such fields as workers rights, juvenile delinquency, women's status and education. Be-

cause former President Rhee and his Liberal Party blatantly rigged the March 1960 elections, the Korean people, led by students, rose up and overthrew the administration by peaceful demonstration in April 1960.

The successor Democratic Party administration proved corrupt, incompetent and unable to safeguard the national security against Communist subversion or to maintain public order against Communist-inspired disturbances and violence. The military rose up in May 1961 and set about eliminating corruption and injustices, embarking on economic reconstruction and creating a new national morale and social order to provide the foundation for a workable democracy.

Conclusions Korea remains divided only because the Communists adamantly reject the U.N. unification formula.

The ROK reaffirms support for all U.N. measures for unification-past, present and future.

The Communists have repudiated U.N. unification efforts in (a) persistently denying U.N. Commissions access to North Korea to supervise "elections," (b) North Korean aggression in June 1950, (c) Chinese Communist aggression in November 1950, (d) obstructionism at the Geneva Conference in 1954 and (e) persistent defiance of the U.N.'s competence and authority by force.

The U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has been persistently rebuffed by the Communists. However, UNCURK has made outstanding contributions to Korean rehabilitation and reconstruction. The ROK requests that UNCURK be continued in being until unification is achieved.

A U.N. solution of the Korean question would be a major U.N. triumph and would contribute to world peace and security.

North Korean Memorandum, Dec. 6, 1961

Paart I. The establishment of the military fascist regime in South Korea was plotted by the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean reactionary ruling circles to help them cut out of the extremely serious political and economic crises in the last days of the Chang Myun regime. The military fascist regime suppresses most ruthlessly the South Korean people's struggle for peaceful unification of their fatherland, advocates unification through conquest of communism and concentrates all its energies on reorganizing national life on a wartime basis.

The UNCURK's annual report tries in vain to create the impression that there is nothing dangerous in the development of affairs in South Korea, that the military fascist coup was inevitable and that suppression of the freedom of speech and publication should be accepted as a matter of course, deliberately ignoring the fact that many people have been arrested and imprisoned only because they advocated peaceful unification. The UNCURK is nothing but a tool serving to hide the U.S. colonial policy of aggression and to patch up its bankrupt foreign policy.

Part II. The UNCURK's mission, whatever form it may take, has been to idealize and adorn puppet regimes installed by the U.S. in South Korea, The annual report indicates that the UNCURK finds itself in a fix that admits of no excuse. The overthrow, by the heroic popular uprising, of the Syngman Rhee regime, exhaustively laid bare before the whole world how shamelessly the U.S. and the UNCURK had been hypocritic and invented demagogues. No sooner had the Chang Myun regime been put into office, however, the UNCURK lost no time in extolling this puppet regime to the skies as a government established through "very satisfactory, free and fair elections." And this time it is busy shielding in every way the military fascist regime which supplanted Chang Myun.

Part III. The main feature of the South

Korean situation during the period covered by the report lies in the fact, among others, that the South Korean people's struggle for their living right and for peaceful unification of the fatherland showed a great surge. Speaking ill of the just struggle of various sections of the South Korean people for South-North interchange and negotiation as well as for independent national unification by the Korean peoples themselves, the annual report makes no mention at all of the fact that the military regime has been arresting, imprisoning and killing those who advocated peaceful unification.

The statement in the annual report that the South Korean military fascist clique is in favor of peaceful unification is the most shameful deception, serving only to screen frantic war preparations by the U.S. imperialists and the military fascist clique. The U.S. should take all the blame for the fact that Korea is not unified yet and the artificial division of the country still continues.

Part IV. The UNCURK tries in vain in its annual report to create the impression that after the military coup, things are going well and taking a favorable turn. But actually, sharp decline is seen in industrial production, ruined agriculture and people's destitution. The situation in South Korea is the direct outcome of U.S. occupation of South Korea during the past 16 years and of its aid policy. U.S. "aid" is a means to seize vital links in the South Korean economy and subjugate it to promote the predatory and military aims of the U.S.

No "economic plan" formulated by the military rulers will be realized so long as the heavy military burden exists and the economic activities there are on the lowest levels. The only way out of the present economic catastrophe, caused by the U.S. colonial policy of spoliation under the cloak of "aid", is to rely on the powerful, self-supporting national economy built in the northern half of Korea and to be unified with the northern half of the country as early as possible.

Part V. The stay in South Korea of the U.S. forces is the main obstacle to peaceful unification of Korea, seriously menacing Far Eastern and world peace, whereby these forces must be evacuated at once. The Chinese People's Volunteers took the initiative in withdrawing all its forces from Korea three years ago, so there can be no excuse for the U.S. forces to stay in South Korea any longer. The South Korean people's indignation over and resistance to the strengthening of the U.S. aggressive designs and to the military fascist clique's unlawful acts are growing day by

Part VI. Korea is still divided although the Korean problem has been placed on the agenda of the U.N. during the past 15 years. This is because the U.S. unlawfully urged the U.N. to discuss the Korean problem to justify its colonial policy of subjugating Korea by utilizing the name of the U.N., not to solve the problem. A time has come when the U.N. should put an end to its long-drawn discussion on the Korean problem. The U.N. should naturally denounce the aggressive groups in the U.S. for their criminal acts—flagrant violations of its charter and principle and illegitimate use of its banner to cover up their aggressive policy—if it is going to follow faithfully the principle of its charter.

The U.N. should evacuate from South Korea the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces which are staying there as "U.N. forces." At the same time, it should take measures to dissolve as soon as possible the UNCURK which serves only as a tool for the U.S. to promote its aggressive policy.

The problem of unifying Korea is a domestic problem to be solved by the Korean people themselves. Accordingly ,no interference from outside is warranted. The Korean people are able and have resources enough to carve by themselves their own future. The DPRK Government recognizes that the best way to solve the problem of peacefully unifying Korea is to hold free elections throughout Korea, without any interference from outside, on the basis of democratic principles.

UNCURK'S Annual Report: Distorted Facts

The UNCURK's (United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea) annual report to the U.N. General Assembly was made public on Nov. 15 and a supplementary report was announced on Dec. 4. The reports covered the period from Sept. 18, 1960 to the end of Nov. 1961. Situations under the Chang Myun Government and the military regime are reviewed. The characteristic underlying the reports is that the Commission, on the one hand, have put in strenuous efforts to justify the military takeover of South Korean government last May and, on the other, have belittled to quite an extent the political developments such as the rising of unification movements during the Chang administration. In short, members of the UNCURK, who have failed in all respects to execute their original assignments, have written up distorted reports to cover up for the lawlessness committed by the current military regime. By doing so, the commission at the same time, thought it could cover up for its negligence and breach of tasks. The point was, of course, pursued in the Political Committee.

While appraising: "In the opinion of the Commission, the general atmosphere under Dr. Chang Myun's Government was characterized by complete freedom in all aspects of Korean life," the UNCURK report constructed arguments to claim that the military coup d'etat was an event inevitable. As regards the abolishment of 834 presses and news agencies by the junta, the report supported the measure by stating that such was necessary in order to safeguard the Korean public from irresponsible reporting and pseudo-newsmen who preyed on innocent citizens. The UNCURK has put in a defense for the militarists' suppression of free press which was highlighted by the death sentences passed on the three officials of the progressive Seoul daily, the Minjok Ilbo.

Furthermore, the UNCURK which is composed of so many doubtful member states also having or had military governments, have instead of questioning the legality of the military regime of South Korea, even painted up the process of the military takeover with bright colors. In the supplementary report, the Commission hailed the junta's pardoning of former Premier Chang Myun and his cabinet members and stated that the Commission was impressed by the lenient measure.

While praising such trifial actions of the junta, the Commission has completely forgotten about the militarists' trampling on the fundamental rights of the people. Nevertheless, the Commission so shamefacedly went on to declare that its mission in Korea is "to promote unification of Korea through peaceful means and to build up an independent democratic and unified government in Korea." If the UNCURK had any integrity to execute its real tasks, it should have at least, mentioned the atrocities that have been committed on the politicians, press men, students, workers and citizens who endorsed unification. But, not a single word was written in connection with the outrages. Severe sentences including five death penalties passed on the defendants of the Minjok Ilbo, Socialist Party, the Student League for National Unification, the Central Council for Self-Unification, etc. were totally ignored in the report. The Commission stated that "only one person was given capital punishment for anti-revolutionary charges.

It must be said that the UNCURK in deliberately ignoring the atrocities being committed on the unification forces of South Korea have not only worked against its own task to promote unification, but have revealed to the world that it had actually conspired with the ROK military regime in perpetuating the military dictatorship so antagonistic to the true interests and aspirations of the Korean nation.

CRUCIAL ECONOMIC RETROGRESSION AND DEFICIT FINANCE

The gross national product of South Korea for 1961 decreased 0.1% from that of last year. Since steady increases were registered in past years, the retrogression symbolizes the disastrous state of ROK economy. Nevertheless, the military government has compiled a swelling deficit budget plan for 1962 with some 67 billion in the red. The militarists claim that the increase is absolutely needed to get their five-year plan launched. As no miracle can be expected, the reckless spending spree is bound to take the nation to eventual bankruptcy.

Disastrous State of Economy

0.1% Decrease in GNP. The military government announced on Dec. 9 that the gross national product for 1961 was estimated to be at 2,320.4 billion hwan. This is a decrease of 2.3 billion or 0.1% from that of 1960. Since all underdeveloped nations tend to mark higher growth rates than industrial nations, the contraction is very crucial. After reaching a peak of 9.7% in 1957, gross national product (GNP) of South Korea has been on a gradual decline until it hit a low of 2.3% in 1960. As the rate of population growth marked 2.88% in 1960, ROK economy had already dropped into contraction in that year. Therefore, the 0.1% drop from that of 1960 indicates how grave the situation is. And when the annual population growth of 2.88% is taken into consideration, the net economic growth represents a critical contraction of 2.98%. This is not a mere business slump but an economic catastrophe.

Lucky Bumper Crop. Moreover, it was lucky that the retrogression did not fall further thanks to the bumper crop gathered by South Korean farms. Tabulation shows that primary industries (agriculture and fisheries) made 3.2% gain over last year and secondary industries (manufacturing) increased by 1.6% but tertiary industries (commercial, administrative, educational and other services) suffered 3.2% loss. Thus the bumper crop covered up for the losses in the other industries. It must be stressed that the growth of primary industries is not the result of any effective policy but owes to the benevolence of good weather. The good luck, however, will doubtlessly, be offset by the immense quantity of U.S. surplus farm goods that will be imported.

Devastation of Tertiary Industries. The 3.2% growth decrease in the tertiary insustries highly signifies the severe business stagnation in South Korea. The depression in this field can be attributed mainly to the sharp drop in purchasing power. The decline in demand for ICA aid dollars as a result of the high hwan-dollar exchange rate as well as the newly instituted policy of "Buy and ship American", is considered another factor for the disastrous slump. According to Seoul newspaper reports, every one out of two counters in Seoul department stores are said to be empty. The stagnation in the tertiary industries which occupy 44.1% of the GNP may prove fatal to ROK economy.

Severe Stagnation in Secondary Industries. The slump in tertiary industries naturally has caused severe stagna-

tion in the manufacturing industries and the result of a low level growth of 1.6% ensued. According to a Report made public by the ROK Chamber of Commerce on Dec. 13, the total production of 150 medium and small businesses not receiving UNKRA or ICA aids reached only 40.9% of production capacity. In the case of textile industries which occupy one-third of all ROK manufacturing production, production fell by 7% over last year. Despite such low production level, sales has dropped too and over-all sales registered only 76% of over-all production which left an inventory of 21%. 37% of management difficulties is due to capital shortage; 21%, sales difficulties; 14%, raw material shortage, 13%, power shortage; 9%, tax burden and 6%, others. Capital shortage is tops and the shortage is felt particularly by the fibre, steel, paper, matches, farm tools and battery industries. Tax burden is another factor that tells on the manufacturing industries.

Currency Inflation. In face of the business stagnation, money supply soared to a new high of 289 billion hwan on Nov. 15, an increase of 66.3 billion over May when the militarists took over and 59 billion over the stabilization line of 230 billion hwan set down by the Chang Myun government for the end of the year. As money demand will increase sharply at the end of the year, currency circulation will easily pass the 300 billion line. According to the Oct. 14 Choseon Ilbo, the Finance Ministry expects the figure to rise to around 324.5 billion at the end of the year. Experts have warned that such abnormal currency inflation not underlined by reproduction will bring along inflation. And, as a matter of fact, prices are shooting up. Compared to the previous month, prices have risen as follows during November: Fuel, 7.3%; construction materials, 4.4%; warine products, 14%; textiles, 3.8%; paper, 4.2% and other commodities, 4.7%. Overall price rise marked 10% rise since the coup d'etat and the rate is increasing at a fast pace. Meanwhile prices of farm products are showing decline, which means that the price hike of manufactured goods would be about 30%. The Bank of Korea had warned as early as September 11 that galloping inflation in prices was highly possible as money supply will in time create effective demands. The caution has become true and the next thing expected is political unrest.

Reckless Deficit Budget

Billion Increase. In defiance of such economic crisis, the military government has compiled a bulging deficit budget plan for fiscal 1962 amounting to a total of 699.6 billion hwan, a big increase of 75.4 billion over that of fiscal 1961. The budget estimate includes 291.5 billion hwan in government investment in major development projects for the first year of the 5-year economic plan. An increase of 30 billion hwan is counted for the pay hike promised to government officials, while 179.8 billion, an increase of 11.7 billion over 1961 will be provided for defense spending.

Big Pay Hike. The additional 30 billion hwan tipped for payrolls to government officials include pay raises whereby the president of the Republic will get a monthly salary of 606,400 hwan including 470,000 hwan for benefits. The salary of military personnel will be raised in the same ratio, whereby a general will get 407,000 hwan. The pay raise is criticized as too burdening under the present circustances.

Too Optimistic. Premier Song stated on Dec. 7 that the administration would accomplish all the projects set for the first year of the proposed five-year economic developemnt plan and also would strengthen the national defense power to guard the nation from penetration of rapidly spreading Communism. But, such headstrong attitude is being criticized as too optimistic and even reckless. The government has set the expected economic growth rate for 1962 at 5.7%. When the average growth rate of 4.7% between 1955-59 is considered, the economic expansion appears

Fiscal 1962 Budget Bill

(Unit: billion hwan)

Revenues

	1962	1961
Tax Income	220.4	186.2
Monopoly Income	31.3	26.5
Miscellaneous	57.8	34.9
National Bonds	8	7
Industrial Reconstruction Bonds	26.8	31.7
Loan	32	6
Carry-over	—	11.5
Sub-Total	376.3	303.8
Counterpart Fund	275.2	265
Others	48.1	45.4
(1) Commodity Sales	21.2	23.3
(2) Technical Aid	9.1	.91
(3) Support in Kind for National Construction Service	17.8	1.3
Sub-total	323.3	310.4
Grand Total	699.6	614.2

Expenditures

General Expenditures	281.6	241.7
(1) Salaries	100.8	71.2
(2) Others	180.8	170.5
Defense	179.8	168.1
Investment	220	185.9
Others	16.2	18.5
(1) Spendings for Pact and others	7.1	9.4
(2) Technical Aid	9.1	9.1
Grand Total	699.6	614.2

to be an impossibility. And in view of the current business slump and 0.1% retrogression in this year's GNP, the chances of growth is quite small. Furthermore, the government has estimated the rate of capital formation at 20% which is a leap of 6.5% over the 13.5% during 1961. With production down to 40% of capacity, this is another impossibility.

Leaning on Foreign Aids. The militarists have estimated that 46% of the entire revenue to come in from foreign aids which is about 10% increase over 1961; whereas tax revenues are estimated at 220.4 billion hwan which brings a rise in the ratio of taxpayer's burden to 12-13 per cent, heavier than ever before. Wishful thinking is done here too, for foreign aids are on a steady decrease year by year and the current tax burdening rate of about 11% is already beyond capacity.

Heavier Taxes. On Dec. 8, the spokesman for the Supreme Council announced that the Grand National Product for 1962 was estimated at 2,452.7 billion hwan, of which 12.7% will go for taxes to be collected through a taxation reform to be enforced on Jan. 1, 1962. This reform is to impose a financial burden of 11,750 hwan per capita; while the gross national product per capita will be 93,150 hwan. In 1961, the per capita financial burden was 9,485 hwan; whereas GNP per capita was 91,273. It has been frequently pointed out that further belt-tightening is impossible under the present average income situation of around $70 a year. It is also criticized that the tax burden will surely be overweight for the low-income people and the proposed increase in indirect taxes will weigh heavily upon the general consumer despite the government's optimism to the contrary.

Bankruptcy. And now, even if the envisaged taxes are collected and foreign aid funds fully utilized, there still is to be a deficit of 66.8 billion hwan in the budget. The deficit is to be 32 billion in loan from the national treasury and 34.8 billion in government bonds. The big deficit poses a dangerous threat. As stated before, the Bank of Korea has already posted danger signs of a galloping inflation. Economic plans should be build on facts and figures of stark reality. But inexperienced as they are, the militarists think they can launch the nation on this reckless economic adventure which they've dreamed up. But without the resources, funds and fervor of the nation to support it, the "fantastic" plan is bound to end up in bankruptcy just as Chang Myun's development plan failed last March.

Militarists Execute Publisher and Socialist

In mad defiance of world opinion, the ROK militarists finally sent Cho Yong-Su, publisher of the defunct daily, Minjok Ilbo and Choi Paik-Keun, organization chief of the disbanded Socialist Party to the scaffold on December 21. In hanging these patriots who fought for the torn nation so that it might live reunified, the militarists have not only laid bare their bloodthirsty and anti-national nature but have labelled themselves brutal enemies of free press and humanity itself.

Canny Execution. In late-afternoon hours of December 21, 1961, Cho and Choi were led out of their cells of Seoul's Sodaemun prison where they had lived their last 8 months of life and were ordered to mount the 13 fatal steps to the scaffold. All the protests against the inhumane cruelties could not reach the deaf ears of Chairman Park Chung Hee and the hangman pronounced Cho and Choi dead at 4.24 PM.

Together with these patriots, three others condemned—a hoodlum boss, an election rigger and a bodyguard who fired on the student demonstrators during the April uprisings last year—were also hanged. By this canny combination of dissimilar men, the militarists obviously sought to offset the shocking effect the hanging of these two unification-fighters would cause on the Korean public and the world as well. Indignant protests are pouring in before the militarists none the less and all righteous Koreans shall rise anew to bring down these mad militarists so thirsty for blood and prove to the world that these men have not died in vain.

Outrageous Trials Reviewed. Cho Yong-Su was hanged on charges of "pro-Communist" activities, but, actually, there were no evidences to prove that he had had any connection with Communists. Cho, on the contrary, was well known as a fighter against Communism. During the Korean War, Cho threw aside his studies at Yeonhi University and joined the security forces in his home town to fight in the wipe-out operations of North Korean Communists. In 1951, he decided to resume his studies in Japan and entered at the Meiji University of Tokyo. Cho threw himself into the ranks of the pro-ROK Mindan (ROK Residents Union in Japan) and fought at the forefront of its struggles. After returning to South Korea, in 1960, Cho ran in the July Elections on a Socialist Popular ticket. He failed to get elected but stepping up his work to muster the peaceful unification forces, Cho finally got the first issue of the progressive Seoul daily, the Minjok Ilbo published on February 15, 1961.

As soon as the militarists took over the Chang Myun Government, Cho was arrested together with his colleagues of the daily. The "Revolutionary" trial on the Minjok Ilbo case was begun at the end of July and after the most unfair and outrageous trial highlighted by wierd construction of law and application of the notorious Retroactive Special Law, the Court passed death sentences on Cho Yong-Su, advisor Song Ji-Yung and auditor An Shin-Kyu. The unprecedented capital punishment given to newsmen involving trial of press brought furious protests against the militarists from all quarters of the world, but the Appellate Court on October 31 turned down the appeals of the defendants and rejected a review on the case. Further protests and appeals for mercy were raised. Park Chung-Hee was pursued by American newsmen at the National Press Club in Washington regarding his suppression of ROK newsmen. He dared to

profane the dignity of the Club by uttering downright lies that the newsmen were North Korean agents. Returning with slight encouragement from President Kennedy, Park finalized the sentence on Cho on December 20 and sent him to the gallows on the following day. The two others condemned, An Shin-Kyu and Song Ji-Yung were spared their lives.

Choi Paik-Keun, the veteran progressive politician and graduate of Seoul Foreign Language College, joined the Workers and People's Party in 1948 and worked to get the divided nation reunified by participating in the North-South Negotiations Conference held that year. Reentering politics after the "April Revolution" last year, he again offered his services to muster the progressive forces of the country and in November of 1960, Choi worked in organizing the Socialist Party and served as its organization chief until arrested by the militarists last May. Choi Paik-Keun was sentenced to death on September 14 by the Revolutionary Court on similar charges as the defendants of the Minjok Ilbo, that is, "promoting the purposes of the North Korean Communist regime." Five other officials of the Party were given 5 to 15 years in prison. His death sentence too was upheld by the Appellate Court on November 8 and finalized by Park Chung Hee on December 20.

Victims of Anti-Communist Propaganda. The established appraisal of the disbanded progressives of South Korea was that they were no more radicals than Laborites of Great Britain or Socialists of West Germany. Communism only exists as a phantom in South Korea. In so thorough an anti-Communist state, even a fool would never affiliate himself with Communism. The military judges of the Revolutionary Court who are but simple stooges of the junta leaders, nevertheless, condemned these unification-fighters to death on the trivial count of "pro-Communism." And their silly argument was that these men had advocated similar political lines with the North Korean Communist regime. Without advocating the points of agreement, no unification could have been practicable. Even such simple logic as clear as the daylight could not be understood by the blockheaded military judges. But reason and justice are not the guiding principles of the militarists. So, even the indignant cries heard throughout the world pleading for sanity could not persuade the insane militarists from victimizing these progressives as sacrifices to put a Red-scare on the nation and also to prove to the world that the militarists are full-fledged anti-Communists.

Victims of Cold War Politics and Martyrs of Peaceful Unification. Further reflection leads us to the conclusion that these men who gave their lives so that their nation might live reunified, fell victims to the caprice and cruelty of cold war politics of the big powers in perpetualizing the division of Korea. We must recall that it was only yesterday (1959) that the great popular leader Cho Bong-Am, who had fought Syngman Rhee twice in the Presidential races, was executed by Rhee on exactly the same false accusation of being a North Korean agent. The nation had mourned the loss of this great figther for Korean independence and then for peaceful unification and has revered him as a martyr throughout these years. It is undoubtable that the invisible dark hands of cold war politics had worked behind the execution of Cho Bong-Am. And now the same bloody hands again worked to execute these two new martyrs of peaceful unification. So, tragedy is being piled on tragedy just because the nation has to live divided. Koreans, though now buried in deep mourn over the loss of these heroic men, shall arise anew with firmer determination. Koreans will fight not only to bring down these blood-thirsty militarists who are but little pawns in the horrible cold war battle but also to eliminate the very roots of all these tragedies. In gaining peaceful unification of the long-torn fatherland alone will the souls of Cho Yong-Su and Choi Paik-Keun rest assured.

Unification Marches on in Japan

Further tragedies and miseries brought along by the cruel dictatorship of the ROK militarists have fully convinced Koreans that unification after all is the only solution for all the predicament. And the unification movement in Japan where 600,000 Koreans reside is marching on a steadfast pace.

We have reported that successful North-South joint celebrations were observed by Koreans throughout Japan last August 15. Korean businessmen, journalists, artists, students and ordinary citizens regardless of their political leanings gathered under the same roof for the first time to celebrate the 16th anniversary of the National Liberation Day and resolved to struggle together in realizing a peaceful unification of the homeland.

The common indignation toward the undesirable military dicttorship in South Korea have brought heretofore antagonistic North and South Korean residents in Japan closer together. The joint fight against the brutal militarists reached new heights in the struggle to save the lives of the condemned ROK newsmen in September. As Cho Yong-Su, had served as vice-president of the Mindan (ROK Residents Union in Japan) Tochigi Prefectural Branch during his residence in Japan, giant protest rallies were held in Tokyo and Tochigi participated by thousands of unification-minded Koreans of both colors—North and South. Another giant protest rally to denounce and protest against the hanging of Cho Yong-Su is scheduled to be held in January at Tokyo.

In the meantime, gatherings of North-South artists and students are being held very frequently. The recent highlight was the "North-South Fraternity Dance Party" held on the night of December 13 at Shinjuku in Tokyo under the auspices of the "Earth Loving Club" a fraternity association of Korean women students studying in Japan. 300 Korean students attended the successful gala dance party which was adorned by girls dressed in Korean national costumes.

Dance Party in Tokyo, Dec. 13

The Mindan leaders supporting the military regime of South Korea have been persistently exercising pressure on the activities of Korean students in Japan. They have even maneuvered to split up the Federation of Republic of Korea Students Studying in Japan which was the first Korean organization in Japan that declared open opposition against the military government. The leaders even incited a group of students to organize a splinter league but no more than 50 students have gathered under the new association. The solidarity of ROK students studying in Japan bound by their strong convictions that the military regime must be brought down cannot be hsaken by any suppression. The recent fraternity dance party sponsored by the women students club is another occassion in which the undaunting determination of Korean students to reunify their fatherland has been exemplified.

At any rate, the anti-national policies of the ROK military government are giving great momentum to the unification movement's march in Japan.

10 Years of Prison for Spreading Rumors Against the Government

The ROK military government announced on December 8 amendments on the Special Criminal Punishment Law. Under the amended law, those who cause internal disturbance or commit murder to cause rebellion with the purpose of obstructing the fulfillment of revolutionary tasks will be meted out with punishments ranging from more than five years of penal servitude to death.

Under the present Criminal Law, those who commit violence or insult on foreign sovereigns or diplomatic missionaries are to be meted out with punishment of up to 7 years in prison, but under the amended Special Criminal Punishment Law, not only those committing these crimes but even those who plot or incite such crimes are to be punished with penalties from 5 years to death.

The most significant point of the amendment is the new paragraph added to Article 3, stipulating that "those who spread rumors with the intent to slander the government shall be punished up to 10 years of prison." By the new paragraph, virtually any reporting of news unfavorable to the government—needless to say of criticisms--have been prohibited. Seoul dailies immediately charged that the new paragraph on spreading rumors against the government implied dangers of suppression of free press. Constructive criticism is the foundation for democratic development. But as Park Chung Hee shooked with anger during his recent press conference in which he gruntled that certain presses were not cooperating with the government, he cannot allow any criticism unfavorable to him, the true dictator that he is.

Peaceful Unification Defendants Tops in Revolutionary Trials

The legal period for indictment under the Special Law for Revolutionary Prosecution expired on December 10. On the occasion, Chairman Park Chung Hee made public the figures of cases handled by the Prosecution. Since activation the Prosecution handled 534 cases involving 1449 persons. The breakdown shows that anti-state (peaceful unification) group was a runaway tops with 224 cases invoving 607 persons; whereas illicit profiteering marked the lowest with only 24 cases and 24 persons. The following is the breakdown:

Cases Handled by Rev. Prosecution

Group	Recieved		Indicted	
	Cases	Persons	Cases	Persons
Election Interference	24	104	23	95
Smuggling	8	64	5	30
Corruption	31	68	11	27
Counter-revolution	41	156	17	52
Anti-state	224	607	12	215
Violence	13	31	12	29
Unfair Elections	162	395	68	180
Illicit Profiteering	24	24	20	20
Total	534	1,449	236	648

NEWS OF THE MONTH Nov. 21 to Dec. 23.

81.4 Per Cent of Taxes Collected

On Nov. 28, the Ministry of Finance announced that total tax income since January totalled 118.5 billion hwan at the end of October. The amount is equivalent to 81.4 percent of the Ministry's estimated amount of 145.4 billion hwan. This is an increase of 6.5 per cent over the corresponding period last year and signifies how intensively the military government has been collecting taxes in order to ease the deficit financing.

Prison Terms Upheld Against 9 Collegiates

On November 30, the Revolutionary Court of Appeals upheld all the sentences ranging from 5 to 15 years in prison passed on the 9 Seoul collegiates on charges of pro-Communist activities. Two months ago, a lower panel of the Court sentenced two students to 15 years, three to ten years and four others to 5 to 7 years in prison. All nine students were former leaders of the defunct Student League for National Unification. The panel of seven judges of the Appellate Court declared that no reason was found for reviewing the case since the defendants were found guilty of all counts charged.

Reform Made on Taxation Laws

On December 2, the government promulgated a reformation of the nation's tax system by establishing a National and Local Tax Adjustment Law and revising six tax laws. The new system will go into effect on January 1, 1962. The reform established 15 national taxes including income tax, business tax and commodity tax and 12 local taxes such as land tax, property tax and automobile tax while 6 taxes were abolished including both the national and local education taxes. The Ministry said that the taxation system was reformed in the direction to support the five-year economic development program.

Pai Ui-Hwan Named Ambassador to Japan

On December 22, Pai Ui-Hwan, currently Chief South Korean Delegate to the ROK-Japan normalization negotiations, was appointed to the post of Ambassador in charge of the ROK Mission in Japan. Pai will succeed Minister Lee Dong-Whan who now heads the Mission to Tokyo. Lee was elevated to the rank of ambassador and will be despatched to other assignment after recallment.

Death Demanded for Chang Do Yung

On December 23, the ROK Revolutionary Prosecution demanded the death penalty for former ROK military junta chairman, Lt. Gen. Chang Do Yung and three other high officers on charges of counter-revolutionary activities. Chang was put on trial on October 27 for "obstructing the May 16 military coup d'etat" along with 23 other military officers including four former junta officers. Fifteen other defendants received prosecution demands of 10 to 20 years in prison on similar charges. The indictments charged Chang and other defendants of hindering the revolution and trying to form "a corrupt regime based on private factionalism." Verdicts are expected at the next session of the trial.